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ABSTRACT

Analyzing the effects of higher education accessibility, the present state of difficulties re: accessibility, and the functioning of various means of accessibility compensation, this paper presents the development of Polish education in terms of the social, political, and economic systems operative during the inter-war period (1918-39) and the post-war period (1945-75). Emphasizing past and current discrepancies between rural and urban and peasant and intelligentsia educational opportunities, this paper presents both quantitative and qualitative data relative to: curricula; socioeconomic influences; parental influences; vocational orientation; social selection; entrance and qualifying exams; achievement standards; intramural discrimination; preferential criteria; equalization measures; scholarships; education quality and effectiveness; institutional proximity; educational costs; educational mobility; and comprehensive educational orientations. The current economic policy of Poland is described as one aimed at "socio-economic development", a policy emphasizing the interdependency of social and economic development; wherein, higher education is ascribed the role of developing the general culture of the Nation, the proper and harmonious domains of social life, and the satisfaction of individual aspirations, as well as technical expertise. (JC)

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**THE ACCESS TO HIGHER SCHOOLS
IN POLAND**

(IN THE ASPECT OF SOCIAL EQUALITY
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT)

*Presented at the Fourth World
Congress of Rural Sociology, Toruń,
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Resource or Human Burden?*

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THE ACCESS TO HIGHER SCHOOLS IN POLAND
/IN THE ASPECT OF SOCIAL EQUALITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT/

The population, economy, education, and culture of Poland suffered very heavy losses during World War II. As a result of direct military operations as well as of the extermination policy of the Nazi invaders over 6 million Poles died. No other country paid such a heavy toll of human lives in proportion to its total population /about 22%/. In order to deprive the Polish nation of their educated people the Nazis exterminated in masses research workers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, and representatives of other strata of the intelligentsia. Before the war the number of higher school graduates amounted to 80 thousand; after the war only 40 thousand were left.

Out of the total number of 104 thousand teachers ca 25% of primary school teachers and ca 30% of secondary school teachers were lost during the war. About 50% of school buildings and 90% of teaching aids and libraries were destroyed and devastated /97, p. 51, 57/. If we consider moreover that as a result of the invader's regulations the Polish children were unable to get normal school education, we will get some idea of the disastrous situation of the post-war education in Poland and of the tremendous difficulties which had to be overcome in order to reconstruct and develop the whole school system.

An underdeveloped industry, a semi-feudal character of the

economy, economic stagnation and a lack of perspectives for the country's development characterized Poland of the period between the two World Wars, whose rural economy was burdened by 8 million of "useless people" /i.e. ca 23% of the total population/ with no chance of finding a job outside farming and leading unproductive lives in conditions similar to a natural peasant economy. In 1946 there were still ca 3.5 million illiterates among those aged over 9, which constituted 18.3% of the total population /121, p. 24/.

After recovering independence towards the end of World War II Poland stepped on the road of socialist development. The political, economic and social structure of the country was subject to radical change. In the years following immediately the war the major task /for the people of this country/ was to create basic conditions for launching the underdeveloped and ruined economy on the way of rapid recovery and socio-economic development. The new social and economic conditions and the ambitious plans of economic development provided both an incentive and the need for the development of a new comprehensive system of education. Revolutionary social and economic changes leading to the creation of a new socialist system would be impossible without educational and cultural transformations. An essential element of the changes in the political system was a deep reform of the education system /98/, which, in consequence of socialist transformations, was to become accessible for the basic working classes /workers and peasants/.

Education has become on the one hand an object equally shared among all, a value wanted by all and universally available. On the other hand, education was to be and is in Poland an instrument of social change and an important subsystem of economic policy. The uni-

versal, state-run, uniform, free, and laic character of education; the controlling of the school network and of the structure of secondary and higher schools; radical measures to ensure places in secondary and higher schools to working class and peasant children; extensive social help for young people studying full time or taking half-time extramural or evening courses; controlling the lines and duration of studies; directing graduates to work to places and enterprises most in need of qualified staff; coordinating the main social and economic tasks with the size, structure, substance, and functioning of higher education - all these measures are evidence of a high degree of control of education as an instrument of accelerating Poland's economic, cultural, and social development.

Between 1945 and 1951 illiteracy was eliminated, and the "surplus" labour was successively absorbed by the economy, especially during the rapid industrialization period of 1951-1956. The dynamic development of the country was associated with considerable achievements in the field of education. In the late sixties the number of university graduates was 2.5 times as high as in 1950, and the increase of graduates of secondary vocational schools in the same period amounted to 450%. The number of people with completed primary and secondary non-vocational education increased at a slower rate /41% and 42% respectively/. As commented by M. E. Searing: "... these striking increases resulted from the great efforts instituted in the post-war period to replace the enormous losses of educated persons during the war and to meet the needs of growing, industrializing economy". /137, p. 1/. According to M. E. Searing's evaluation, the level of educational achievements in Poland was much higher than in Yugoslavia, Roumania or Hungary, it was even higher than in the USSR /ibid, p. 4/.

Her opinion is confirmed by the so-called UNESCO scholarisation indices which in 1968 were: 25.7% in the USA, 25.2% in Poland, 25.0% in the USSR, 20.6% in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, 19.9% in Britain /124, p. 158/.

Due to the policy of universal state-run education, initiated after the war, in the early seventies Poland had eight times as many persons with higher education as in the prewar period, seven times as many secondary school graduates, six times as many university students, seven times as many pupils of vocational schools and twice as many pupils of general secondary /grammar/ schools. There is no province in Poland now without some institution of higher education /a college or university/, such schools have been opened in many industrial centers and in the eastern provinces underdeveloped and neglected before the war.

After the liberation, a theoretical program of the right to education was worked out, and its practical realization adequate to the needs of the all-round development of the society was ensured /29/. At the same time, however, in the early seventies the Polish society was still non-egalitarian. Social nonegalitarianism is reflected inexorably in the functioning of education, also in the differentiation of accessibility to higher grades of education. The presented paper is devoted to an analysis of the effects already achieved in the field of accessibility of higher education, of the present state of difficulties in that respect before the great and comprehensive reform of the national education system /Act of the Polish Sejm of 13 Oct. 1973/ and of the functioning of various means of compensation.

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We present in this paper the main lines of the development of education in Poland against the background of its social, political and economic system. This imposes to some extent an approach to the problem in question from the point of view of two principal periods:

- the inter-war years of 1918-1939;
- the post-war period 1945-1975 /after the change of the social and political system/.

These periods differ not only in their political systems, but also in the condition and development rate of their higher education.

/Here: Table 1/

In the inter-war period both the number of higher schools /universities and vocational training colleges/ and the number of students and graduates shows certain growing tendencies. A major breakdown of this tendency came in the time of the Great Depression 1933-1936, and its consequences, particularly the lower number of young people studying, were felt until the outbreak of World War II.

A dynamic growth of those numbers is observable in the past 30 years of existence of People's Poland. While the number of higher schools became stabilised fairly quickly /83 colleges and universities in 1951, 89 in 1974/, the number of young people studying has been growing in them systematically /it trebled in the years 1950-1973/, and so has the number of graduates /it nearly trebled in the same period/. A growing proportion of students of higher-grade schools are working people: 15.1% of graduates in the academic year 1955/56 studied at evening or extramural courses, in 1965/66 this percentage grew to 34.5, and in 1973/74 to 37.0. These forms of education, however, are accessible only for people living at a short distance from the place where an appropriate school is found. In that situation it was decided to recur to mass media; since 1965 the TV Technical University has been in operation, and since 1973 the Radio and TV Tea-

cher's University.

Forecasts reaching to the year 2000 foresee further systematic growth of both students /who will nearly double compared with the present number /and graduates/ who will treble in number/. Such considerable quantitative growth of higher education is conditioned by the present and prospective demand for highly qualified staff resulting from a planned social, economic, and cultural development of the country.

At present, from each demographic age-group in Poland about 7% of the children enter higher schools. Plans for the following years forecast that already in 1976-1980 education at that level should embrace up to 30% youth of each age-group, while secondary education will become universal /43, p. 58; 131, p. 425-439/. The term "higher school" covers schools with 3-4 year courses /teachers' training and technical colleges/ and those with up to 5-6 year courses /technical universities, medical academies/. They present varying degrees of attractiveness, which is reflected in the number of applicants for admission /and competing for each vacancy/ and their standard of preparation for university studies. A similar phenomenon is found in nearly all countries of the world /30/.

An unquestionable principle of the educational systems in most modern states is the d e m o c r a t i z a t i o n o f e d u c a t i o n. According to this principle, supported by arguments of both economic /demand for staff/ and social nature /justice and equality/, higher education should be accessible for all candidates showing adequate ability and school achievement. In spite of the assumption /accepted in scientific hypotheses and ideology/ of equal distribution of abilities throughout the particular social classes and strata and local communities, the access to higher education is

largely determined by stratificational and spatial factors. Empirical studies point out that tremendous potential reserves lie in the first place in the country and in the strata of lower standard of qualifications and education /184; 158; 42; 146; 34/. S. Kowalski claims that "... under conditions of family inequalities the principle of selection according to abilities and motives is an idle notion, since the abilities and motives themselves are determined by these inequalities" /62, p. 306/. Further democratization of education under conditions of socialism is linked with technical and economic progress, social regroupment and the improvement of school systems /136; 65/. In West European countries the progress of democratization is related to the development of the school system itself, to its gradual universalization, the development of information and of the scholarship system /57/.

The foundation of the process of equalization of the school system is the principle of "equality", whose formula may have various complements. Thus we may speak and we do speak of "equal start" for young people from various social backgrounds in schools of various types; we speak of the principle of "equal participation" meaning that the social structure of school children in schools of a certain grade should correspond to the structure of the whole society, or to the proportions of its professionally active portion, or else to the proportions of the young people in a given age division in general. We also speak of "equal opportunity", i.e. of equal probability of access to higher grade schools, and finally of "equality of output", which means that schools of the same type should provide equal final results /1; 34; 70; 74/.

In the name of those ideas the basic link in the school system, i.e. the elementary school, was formally universal already in the inter-war period. The reservation that it was so only in theory must

be made, since attendance of the 7-year olds was only 86-88%, and of the 13-year olds 73-76% /94/. Moreover, the pre-war school was not structurally uniform. Full 7-grade elementary schools, giving the right of entry to secondary schools, existed only in towns and large villages /over 300 children/. The school reform in 1932 fixed that state of affairs by instituting three structural levels of elementary schools : 1st level schools with two teachers and a curriculum equivalent to four grades /7 years' school work/, 2nd level - with three or four teachers and a curriculum of six grades /7 years of schooling/, and 3rd level - with a full curriculum of seven grades. Due to the existence of the lower level schools the rural youth coming from families of moderate or slender means was cut off from secondary education. In the school year 1937/38 only 14% of the children between 14 and 17 were still at school. Only part of the secondary schools were state controlled; e.g. in the school year 1934/35 out of 770 general secondary schools /grammar schools/ 301 were state run, and out of 714 vocational schools only 120 were state schools /94/. The index of people studying at university level was also very low : in the academic year 1937/38 there were 14.4 students per 10,000 people.

The above random data are enough to show that in the pre-war Poland the basic selection of children was made by abstaining from elementary school and failing to finish a full-course elementary school. 79% of the children coming from families of larger businessmen, larger farm owners, professional men, and mental workers reached the highest grade of the lower level vocational schools or the first grade of the new type general secondary school, and 25% of them entered higher schools. Likewise, in the group of rentiers 63.1% of the children starting elementary school reached a secondary school of some type, 24.7% college or university. The

respective proportions for children of smaller businessmen were 11.1% and 2.0%, and for those of clerks 22.2% and 1.9%. The lowest income groups of the population, which constituted its majority, were in the worst situation. Domestic servants and workers in industry and commerce: 2.9% and 0.4%; owners and tenants of small farms: 1.0% and 0.2%, and farm laborers 0.6% and 0.1% /32/.

While children of parents working in the professions constituted in the school year 1935/36 only 0.2% of the total number of school children in the first grade of the elementary school, in the first grade of the general secondary school they constituted 3.8%, and in the first course of university 6.9%. Similar opportunities were open to children of larger businessmen, who constituted 0.3% of the pupils of the elementary school, 5.0% of those in the general secondary school, and 6.9% of university students. The children of owners and tenants of large farms /over 50 ha/ constituted 0.2% of the total number of school children at the lowest level of school education, but as much as 3.3% of university students. Reverse proportions prevailed among children of small farmers /owning farms up to 5 ha in area/: they constituted 39.0% of all children in the first grade of the elementary school, but only 18.6% of the pupils of the general secondary school, and 5.1% of the first course university students. A similar situation prevailed as concerns children of farm laborers; the respective data for them were: 8.5% in the elementary school, 3.7% in the secondary school, and 0.8% in the higher schools /94/.

In 1937 M. Falski evaluated the situation as follows: "From the very start of school life children coming from different social backgrounds enter ... different ways of education, coexisting in the present school system, which for some of them make it easier, to others

more difficult or even impossible to continue in due time education at higher levels... Already at the initial stages of education starts the efflux of children from schools, which reaches tremendous dimensions at the level of the highest grades of the elementary school. This efflux is very uneven for children from various social environments. Children from the generally well-off families progress in considerable numbers to the highest levels of education, whereas the children of the prevailing masses of the poorer population, most particularly of the rural population, diminish in number at levels not exceeding elementary school to such an extent that only individuals ever get to higher levels of education" /32, p. 22 and 63/. It was mainly for these reasons that the inter-war school and education system was subject to sharp criticism from the part of progressive teachers' unions and liberal intelligentsia as well as the workers' party, who claimed a democratic, uniform, obligatory and free school /75; 142/.

Indices now available indicate that the efficiency of the school system of that time was rather low. In the years 1933-1936 the proportion of elementary school children promoted ranged about 86%, and in the general secondary school in the years 1930-1936 it amounted to 82-85.5%, while in the vocational schools it was 84-86%. Among those who graduated from higher schools in the academic year 1935/36 as many as 59.9% of them took six or more years to get their diplomas /16.9% of the total number of graduates studied 9 years or more/. A study carried out in 1936/37 revealed that 43.3% of all students studied in accordance with the scheduled program, 26.3% with a year's delay, 12.7% with a two years', 6.8% with a three years', and 10.9% with an even longer delay /94; 166/. The national economy of that time did not feel a deficit of people with higher education, on the contrary,

there was rather a certain excess of intelligentsia. The authorities therefore did not find it necessary to follow the percentage of drop-outs or to press for earlier graduation. The factor controlling the afflux of young people to higher schools and the pace of finishing studies was the high tuition. For instance, in the College of Commerce /Szkoła Główna Handlowa/ in 1933 the annual fee was 550 zloty and the evaluation of the thesis was charged 60 zloty, the average monthly earnings of mental workers were 280 zloty, those of manual workers 100 zloty /94/.

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At present only 0.24-0.25% of children aged 7-14 fail to take up obligatory education at the 8-year /until 1961 7-year/ elementary school. The principle reasons are: mental handicap, invalidism or chronic disease. The principle of universal education is now differently interpreted. In the period between the Wars and after the War until 1956 it was interpreted as obligatory school attendance. Later this principle was specified as the obligation to finish the 7-th, and since 1961 the 8-th grade of the elementary school; school attendance, however, should not exceed the school years in which the child is 17 /in some regions of the country 18/. It is possible to speak now of universalizing education at the post-elementary level, since in the years 1945-1950 the proportion of children aged 14 to 17 studying at that level reached 40%, in the year 1960/61 63.1% of children between the ages of 15 and 18 were at school, and in 1973/74 this proportion reached 76.4%.

In the past 30 years the selection threshold has been shifting more and more clearly from the elementary school to between the elementary and the post-elementary school and between the secondary

school and college or university. Closer analyses reveal, however, certain negative phenomena. Thus the drop-out /discontinuing school before finishing the last grade/ in elementary school reaches 10% of the total number of children starting school /33; 78; 182/. The drop-out and screen-out indices are much higher in full secondary schools: in general secondary schools about 70% of those who start reach the final examinations, and in vocational schools this percentage is about 60 /25; 35; 96; 182/. M. Palaski revealed that earlier /in 1958-1962/ 45-50% of school children in full secondary schools discontinued school education /33/. Another disturbing phenomenon is that in the period from 1967/68 to 1970/71 the proportion of children with elementary education who continued studies in full secondary schools dropped from 43.1% to 33.6%, while the percentage of those continuing studies in lower-grade vocational schools rose in the same period from 39.8 to 53.6. In this way the pool of potential candidates for higher education is diminishing.

One of the most essential achievements of the new system is that it ensures access to secondary and higher education to the best regardless their domestic conditions. The principle of equal opportunity leading to the best utilization of human talent, and therefore so important for the development of economy, culture and technology has now much better conditions for realization than in any other period in Poland's history. The growing number of secondary school graduates aspiring to higher education has faced and still faces the difficulties stemming from the limited number of places in higher schools. E.g., in the academic year 1962/63 there were 50 thousand applicants for 30 thousand places, and in 1969/70 112 thousand applicants for 45 thousand places. In that situation it was necessary,

considering the interests of the economic, cultural, and social development of the country, to set going such a mechanism of choice and selection that would give priority to the most talented candidates revealed in the democratic system of universally equal opportunity /54, p. 9-10/. However, the mere creation of a theoretically uniform and democratic system of school education did not ensure full realization of this principle. The chances of getting higher education become differentiated in the course of ontogenesis in early life and while at school both elementary and secondary.

Diagnostic inquiries into the level of school functioning have demonstrated considerable discrepancies between the assumptions of the curricula and the real effects. Enough evidence of this is provided by studies comparing the effectiveness of elementary school work in urban and rural districts, by reports showing the school careers of children of the intelligentsia and of workers or peasants, or those of children coming from families of different educational standards. These problems have been worked out lately in several synthesising publications /Report of Experts' Committee on the State of Education in Poland and the Report of the Committee for Studies and Forecasts "Poland 2000" - The Conditions of Social Start of Children/. Another report has been published on the access of rural youth to education at various levels of the school system /71/. Considering the main purpose of this paper, we will only point to the most important regularities.

Differences in the access to education are observed already before the child enters elementary school. A clear relationship between maturity for school work of the 6-7 year-old children in the first grade and the stratifying agents /the father's occupation, the mother's education, the living standard of the family/ as well as the ecological

factors /country - town/ has been revealed by the studies of B. Wilgocka-Okon /172/ carried out in 1969-1970 on the representative random samples taken from all over the country. It follows from this analysis that it is the dwelling place that has the greatest differentiating power. Much smaller differences in that respect - statistically insignificant - have been found in the province of Szczecin by J. Parafiniuk-Sojnska /120/. Considerable differences in the standard of preparation for school work between children born and brought up in large cities, in small towns and in the country have been found by M. Pączkowski. The author also points out that the compensation centers and nursery schools do not solve the problem of immature children in Poland /116/.

Important differences in the amount of information acquired in the elementary school /1; 77; 80; 82; 81; 161/, a higher drop-out /33; 79; 182/, differences in the level of aspirations /47; 52; 58; 63; 64; 76; 89; 102; 132; 149; 150; 160/ show that the elementary school does not compensate the environmental and social differences, but even increases them. A number of investigations carried out in the industrially developing district of Płock /71/ has shown that the mental standard of urban youth is much higher than that of the children educated in country schools. According to the scale of school marks¹ this difference corresponds to the level below sufficient and good /77/. An even lower standard of achievement than that of children from villages in the industrially developing or suburban district was found in school children from a peripheral village /66; 79; 174/.

¹ In the Polish schools a four-grade marking scale is used: very good, good, sufficient, insufficient.

The ecological differentiation of the school achievement is strengthened by stratificational factors /49; 167/. A comparison of the social structure of classes in grade VIII of elementary schools and of grade I of post-elementary schools in two developed regions reveals differences in the structure of those continuing school studies to the advantage of children from families of mental workers and intelligentsia, skilled workers, people working in the services and "others" /pensioners, undefined sources of income/. On the other hand, children from families of unskilled workers, peasants and peasant-workers are under-represented in grade I of secondary schools, i.e. more of them do not continue studies after leaving elementary schools /83/.

The differentiating effect of these factors can also be seen in a homogeneous environment /e.g. a large city/, where children whose parents have higher education or are mental workers try to get chiefly into general secondary school. Children of parents with elementary education or of manual workers usually aspire to get into lower vocational schools /62; 128/. The lower level of their aspirations may result from lack of understanding of the need of education or from their wish to get a job and become independent as early as possible; but quite often it is conditioned by difficulties in getting to the right kind of school, e.g. the hardships of travelling to school, the cost of studies etc. /33; 58; 160; 165/. These differences stand out with particular clearness under conditions of rapid acceleration of economic and social development. The great development of education in Płock /the center of Polish petrochemical industry/, particularly of vocational schools tied directly with that main investment center created unequal opportunities for representatives of various social strata /the highest chance being obtained by the children of the intelligentsia, the lowest by peasant children/. Moreover, the chil-

children from the country, particularly peasant children,"... not only in their majority got access to schools of a lower standard, but have to suffer the hardships of daily travelling to school" /69, p. 222/.

Similar phenomena are observed in the post-elementary school. A major obstacle for rural youth and for children of working class and peasant origin in getting to full secondary schools are the entrance examinations /161; 187/. Particularly in attractive schools they act as an instrument of social selection /5; 11/. A strict entrance selection may result in obtaining a group of children so homogeneous as regards intellectual proficiency that the stratification differences become insignificant /139/. After the recent introduction of a new system of enrollment to full secondary schools consisting in the replacement of entrance examinations by qualifications from elementary schools it turned out that the social structure of children in the general secondary schools did not change to any significant extent /84/.

Beside considerable quantitative disproportions in the representation of children in schools of various types depending on various social origins and on various standards of the parents' qualification and education /92; 109; 117; 123; 150/, there are also observed quantitative differentiations in the schooling effects of these children /16; 80; 83; 132; 162/. S. Kowalski writes that the working class and peasant children in secondary school compete for effects with the children from other social strata with the utmost effort and difficulty, and only rarely, under exceptionally favorable conditions, succeed in reaching their standard /61/.

M. Jastrzęb-Wrosicka, while analysing the national sample of general secondary school children, found that after entering school

three-fifth of the pupils declared that their choice of that particular type of school had been dictated by their intention to take up university studies. It is characteristic, however, that such a declaration is strongly differentiated by the social and occupational origin of the subjects. The desire to take up higher studies as an important factor in the choice of a secondary school which would provide the greatest chance of entering university is realized by only just over one third of the pupils coming from peasant and unskilled workers' families, about one half of the children from families of skilled workers, and by a near average proportion of children from clerks' and technicians' groups. Only in the group of children coming from families representing the highest level of education the desire to get to university through the medium of the general secondary school becomes widely recognized: it is stressed by nearly four fifth children of this category /46, p. 47/.

Similar regularities were observed by the author in the higher grades of the general secondary school, though the approval index in general is only slightly higher /in grade XI two third of the pupils approve their choice/. Also graduates of general secondary schools in villages and small towns apply for admittance to higher schools much less frequently /45.2% and 51.9% / than those from provincial capitals /74.0% / or from the largest special-status cities /82.1% / /6; 59; 123/.

The aspirations to university studies are much greater among pupils from large cities. In the highest grade of general secondary school 54.1% of rural youth, 69.5% of pupils from towns up to 10 thousand inhabitants, 75.0% of those from towns with 10-100 thousand and 84.8% of those from cities above 100 thousand declared their in-

tention of entering university. Similar proportions of decisions, though in lower numbers, were found among the pupils of full secondary vocational schools: the country - 36.9%, small towns - 37.4%, towns from 10 to 100 thousand inh. - 48.8%, and cities above that number 51.8% /46/. It is noteworthy that a larger proportion of rural youth /about 20%/ than of pupils from large cities /ca 10%/ does not apply for admittance to university in spite of their declarations /46/.

Graduates from general secondary schools apply for admittance to higher schools in 52-54%, but the percentage of applicants among vocational secondary school graduates ranges from 25 to 33.

Nearly 55-60% of candidates from general secondary schools and about 40% of those from vocational schools pass the entrance examination to university /33; 46; 59/. It may therefore be said that at present every third or fourth pupil leaving general secondary schools, but only every seventh or eighth of those leaving vocational schools reaches university or college. These data would point to the advantage on the side of general secondary schools.

On economic grounds it is somewhat disturbing that so many vocational school graduates apply for admittance to higher schools. Economic arguments, viz. higher costs of educating a full vocational secondary school graduate, are for charging more the general secondary school with the task of preparing candidates for higher education. Also the curriculum of that school and the scope of information required at entrance examinations predisposes it for that function. On the other hand, the full vocational school gives its graduates the choice among higher studies, non-academic post-secondary school or taking up a job in their particular specialities. Consideration

should be given to the possibility of uniting the two functions of the full secondary school, i.e. preparation for higher studies and preparation for a given trade. This process of unification is more advanced in Czechoslovakia with the result that while similar proportions of children are educated in general and vocational secondary schools, graduates of the former constitute 49% and of the latter 51% of university students /31; 168/.

The importance of social factors is evidenced by the fact that even pupils showing the same standard in school achievement but whose fathers have different levels of education do not show the same degrees of aspiration for higher studies. Thus among pupils with very good marks in the humanities 72.2% of those whose fathers had only elementary education applied for admission to university, 88.7% of those whose fathers had secondary education, and 95.5% of the children with university educated fathers. The respective proportions for pupils very good at sciences were: 75.8%, 88.7% and 95.1% /46/.

It has also been revealed that young people coming from larger cities from families with higher education make decisions /and stick to them/ much earlier in life than the others. They choose much more frequently such highly attractive studies as the fine arts or medicine, whereas pupils from the country or small towns usually take up agriculture, economics or pedagogical subjects and make their decisions much later /46; 135/.

It is possible, therefore, to say that selection at the elementary and secondary level does not reflect differences in the interests and abilities of the pupils which should be of decisive importance, but is largely a social selection. Therefore on the threshold of higher schools meet young people whose success or failure will be determined not only by intellectual values but also by stratificational and eco-

logical features.

To counteract these inequalities a reform of the system of enrollment for higher studies was introduced in 1965. It consisted in introducing preferential points for working-class and peasant children, increasing financial support to students coming from lower-income families and in providing them with places in students' hostels. An important reason for this reform was the decrease of the proportion of working-class and peasant children in the social structure of the candidates and of the first-year students observed since 1957. The preference given to young people from those social environments was to put right

/Here: Table 2 /
/ Table 3/

the unbalanced proportions of the social structure of students and to encourage the aspirations for higher studies among working-class and peasant youth.

The system of preferential points for candidates coming from working-class and peasant families who passed their entrance examinations for full-course studies, used since 1965, resulted from the state's concern for the democratization of the social structure of students. The intention of the reform was to bring the social structure of students to reflect as far as possible the social structure of the population of this country, since higher education plays an important part in transforming the social structure of the nation and in creating a new democratic intelligentsia /157, p. 108/.

Before the reform of 1965 the only criterion qualifying for higher studies was the results of the competition entrance examination. That system was to ensure the selection of the prognostically best candidates, i.e. those with the highest expectancy of successful completion of studies according to schedule. In the new system of selection the

result of the entrance examination is still the basic qualifying criterion in spite of all its disadvantages and its limited prognostic value /i.e. its validity as base for forecasting future success in studies/. /45; 176; 178/. The entrance examination can only reveal to a certain extent the amount of knowledge possessed by the candidates, but it does not inform broadly about their skills, abilities or their personality values.

The entrance examination for all kinds of higher studies consists of a written paper and an oral examination, and in some specialities also of a practical test /e.g. in academies of physical education and in the fine arts faculties/. In the evaluation of the joint result of the examination paper and the oral examination the following scale of marks and points is used:

a/ main subjects

very good	12 points
good plus	9
good	7
sufficient plus	5
sufficient	4
insufficient	0

b/ foreign language

very good	4
good	2
sufficient	1
insufficient	0

The candidates who got insufficient marks in two subjects at the written examination drop out from further qualifying procedure. Also one final insufficient mark in any one subject disqualifies the candidate.

Another qualifying criteria are the so-called additional preferential criteria, which are applied only to those candidates who have

passed the entrance examination. At this stage of the qualifying procedure additional points are conferred to:

- 1/ all candidates of working-class or peasant origin - five extra points;
- 2/ those who finished school in the same year and had at least good marks in the examination subjects in the two highest grades of secondary school and in the secondary school certificate - one point for each subject, maximum three points;
- 3/ those who finished school two or more years before and worked for at least two years without interruption - three points for manual work, two points for other work;
- 4/ secondary school graduates who have just completed military service - three points.

The total number of points obtained by the candidate is then made up of the sum of points obtained at the entrance examination, which may be increased by the points in virtue of the additional qualifying criteria. The candidates with the succeeding largest number of points are admitted to university, but their number is limited by the number of places at a given school or faculty. If two or more candidates obtain the same number of points, the children of workers and peasants are given priority.

The social structure of candidates admitted to university is practically unaffected by preferential points specified in items 3 and 4, since they apply to a comparatively small group of people.

Preference given for good achievement at secondary school makes it possible to take indirectly into account such values of the candidate's personality as ability and diligence, which cannot be without effect on his school performance /88; 115; 181/. In this way the prospects of success in the candidate's university career are increased; this is confirmed by studies of the coincidence of univer-

sity success with secondary school performance. These studies, however, have revealed the higher predictive value of the mean of all the marks in the school certificate, which may be considered the teaching staff's collective opinion of the candidate, than of the marks in the subjects in which the candidate intends to specialize /178; 100/. K. Migdal even advances the opinion that selection based solely on competition of secondary school certificates would be of higher or at least equal prognostic value to that of selection by entrance examination /100, p. 171/.

Generally speaking, the present system of preferential points does not affect to any considerable extent the selection of students, and only about 5% of the total number of candidates are admitted in virtue of preference. This results mainly from the fact that preferential points are given at the second stage of selection, i.e. to those who have already passed the entrance examinations. The entrance examination acts as a selection razor and an average of 45%, occasionally reaching even 50% of the candidates are screened out every year. Preferential points have the more importance the lower the marks in the entrance examination: e.g. the maximum number of points a candidate for economic studies can get at the entrance examination is 28 /very good marks in two subjects and in the foreign language/, whereas the maximum number of preferential points is 8 /5 for working-class or peasant origin and 3 for a good school record/. In this situation the preferential criteria increase the total number of points by 28.6%. For a candidate who passed the entrance examination with the necessary minimum of 9 points /sufficient marks/, but got the maximum number of preferential points the latter constitute an 86.9% increase, and the total number of 17 points enables him to come before the candidate without preference who passed all his examinations with good marks /16 points/.

Preference on account of social origin has proved to have a rather limited effect. It has not improved the social structure of candidates admitted to the first year of studies, only inhibited the decrease in the proportion of students of working-class and peasant origin /of Tab. 2 and 3/. As demonstrated by statistical data, preferential points encourage to apply for higher studies only a very small proportion of working-class and peasant children who would not for some reasons /e.g. poor school performance/ undertake this attempt.

Preference on account of social origin affects the structure of freshly admitted students only in a situation when part of those who passed the entrance examination cannot be admitted, and gives a chance of studying to a certain number of working-class and peasant candidates who would not otherwise be admitted on account of poor performance at the entrance examination. The characteristic and university careers of this part of students /defined as "preferred"/ have been the object of special studies and statistical analyses, which have demonstrated that they are characterized by poorer secondary school certificates, poorer performance at the entrance examination and at other examinations in the course of studies and that they drop out or are screened out more frequently compared with the remaining students /170/. This means that the expectancy of completion of studies in "preferred" students is lower than in the others, which decreases the efficacy of the principle of social preference itself as a method of democratisation of higher education. Its idea after all is to improve the social structure of the graduates, not only of the first year students /113/.

It must be stressed that the above remarks on the poor performance of students refer only to that comparatively small group who would not get into university without preferential points for social origin. Most candidates of working class and peasant origin get to

university thanks to good marks at the entrance examination irrespective of the five-point preference. Studies on the students' full university careers, carried out in a number of universities, have demonstrated that in the second year of studies students of working-class and peasant origin show similar success to that of the intelligentsia, and in higher years the latter are outdistanced by peasant youth /67, p. 65/.

In the years 1958/59 - 1967-68 the proportion of students of working-class and peasant origin dropped from 49% to 41%. Studying the reasons of this phenomenon R. Mistewics found a similar process going on in the youth structure of general secondary schools in the years 1951/52 - 1960/61 /104/, confirming in this way the hypothesis advanced earlier by J. Szczepański that the basic selection threshold eliminating the largest number of potential candidates for higher schools is the transition from elementary to secondary school /156, p. 47-48/. When a pupil chooses a vocational school, which gives its graduates a definite job and the possibility of earning money, his expectancy of further study becomes greatly diminished. General secondary schools, on the other hand, do not prepare for any definite job, and induce therefore their graduates to take up higher studies /157, p. 25/. Hence in pupils enrolling in full vocational secondary schools the statistical expectancy of taking up higher studies is three times lower than in those entering general secondary schools /114, p. 141/.

Before the group of candidates for higher studies is finally formed the young people have to pass several selection stages: at elementary school, in passing from elementary to secondary school, in the course of secondary school attendance at the secondary school final examination, and finally at the entrance to university. The low efficacy of preferential points for social origin is due to the

fact that they are applied to a small number of candidates of working-class and peasant origin already previously selected, that this measure is applied too late, since between elementary and secondary school 74% of graduates of peasant origin, 65% of those of working-class origin, but only 22% of children of the intelligentsia are eliminated /113, p. 198/. It is therefore clear that to increase the percentage of university students of working-class and peasant origin it is necessary to increase the number of these children at secondary, and in particular, general secondary schools.

The diminishing percentage of rural youth competing for admission to college or university is also connected with the decreasing proportion of the peasant class in the total population of Poland. While in 1960 the percentage of peasants was 38.4% of the population, they constituted 29.8% in 1970 and only 27.2% in 1973. However, the main sources of the developing social structure of students should be looked for at earlier stages of school education. The above situation results from the lower standard of country school work, more difficult access of children from the country and small towns to secondary schools and their limited possibilities of choice of a secondary school. It also results from the fact that in different social and ecological environments the aspirations for educating young people are considerably differentiated, which was confirmed by observations and numerous investigations /17; 18; 90; 140/.

The introduction of preference points has not brought any changes in the above situation, and that is why the proportion of working-class and peasant youth among the candidates taking entrance examinations is unsatisfactory, which consequently is reflected in the stratificational structure of the first year students /12; 13; 51; 53; 104; 112; 145/.

While before the war the proportion of the working-class in the total number of students was only 8-9% and that of peasant children 8.0%, these proportions increased to about 30% and 16% respectively in the post-war period /1971/ owing to the new educational policy and remarkable progress in democratisation of education. The above indexes, however, are not satisfactory, for they do not reflect the proportion of workers and peasants in the total number of people in Poland. The indexes of accessibility of higher education for the youth of the main social strata, measured by the ratio of the proportion of students from a given social stratum to its proportion in the total structure of the population of the country show considerable differences.

/Here: Table 4/

The youth of working-class and peasant origin is visibly under-represented at higher schools. The index of accessibility of higher education for craftsmen's children is comparatively proportional /approaching 1/, whereas the youth from the intelligentsia is more than twice over-represented every year. Considering this example, the conclusion can be drawn that the preferential points have not brought any important changes. Even today the child of a Polish peasant has a four times smaller chance to become a student than the child of the intelligentsia and a considerably lower chance than the child from the working-class. The latter group has a three times smaller chance as compared with the intelligentsia but better than peasant children. It is impossible to make up for the consequences of much earlier processes by formal measures, but proper conditions should be ensured to those children in the elementary school, since it is mainly at that stage that later progress at school and life career are determined.

Particular care should therefore be given to the post-elementary school, where, as already indicated, educational opportunity for children from different social strata is determined. A radical improvement may come as a result of universalization of secondary education, since it is then that the basic mass of youth will approach the doors of higher school, and it is there that the essential selection of candidates to college and university will take place. The result of the selection will depend much more on the personal value of the individual and on the candidate's potential abilities.

It imposes a serious obligation on higher schools to apply more precise methods of selection and to improve the model of entrance examination considering that psychologists' research confirms the opinion that abilities and talents are evenly distributed throughout all social strata. Hence the process of further democratization of school selection should equalize the conditions of start in competing for access to higher education, and through it lead to the optimum utilization of potential abilities of successive youth generations /113, p.197/.

The disproportions in the social structure of intramural students, though the most obvious, are not the only ones. A similar "discrimination" of children appears when considering their place of permanent residence. Nearly a half of the population of Poland live in the country, yet there are only about 18% of rural youth among the candidates to higher schools. On the other hand, in big cities with a population exceeding 100,000 inhabitants live one fifth of the population, but two fifth of candidates come from there. Comparing the chance of rural and urban youth of entering higher school, it becomes clear that the chance of urban youth is four times larger, and with the increase in size of the town their chance

systematically increases, which is indicated by accessibility indexes, which are: 0.44 for the country and 0.91 for the towns with the number of inhabitants below five thousands, 1.12 for the towns with 20 to 50 thousand people and 1.80 for the cities with over 100,000 inhabitants /144, 155/.

Also the index of intramural students in relation to the total of the 19-24-year- old youth shows a considerable discrimination of rural youth /1.9% of the total/ as compared with urban youth /8.4%/ /105/. A few years ago, for the students who entered university in 1958, this divergence was even greater: the index for the country was 1.4% and for the town 9.2% /179/. Considering these disproportions it is postulated that children living in the country should be given priority in the same way as when social origin is concerned.

The present system of enrollment to colleges and universities raises considerable doubt and is subject to growing criticism both in the academic and other social circles. It does not work properly as a purposeful system of selection of potential candidates, neither does it stimulate talented youth to take up studies or help in carrying out optimal selection /54; 45; 114; 183/. A new model of enrollment is being worked out, according to which each candidate is to be evaluated on the basis of many factors; viz. points will be assigned for results of the entrance examinations, for secondary school performance, for psychological tests, for environmental conditioning, which is to take into account among other things the social background and the candidates' financial situation.

The problem of maintaining the proper social proportions as far as the access of youth to colleges and universities is concerned has been solved in various ways in other socialist countries. There are no entrance examinations to higher schools in the German

Democratic Republic. They also do not use the system of points, which results mainly from the particular demographic situation in that country. The secondary school certificate is the necessary requirement for the candidates to colleges and universities, but the opinion of the school teachers also plays a very important role. The teaching staff estimates their alumni as remarkably qualified for studies, well qualified or qualified. When admitting candidates to higher schools the numerical proportions corresponding to the social structure of the population are taken into account. And thus the youth of peasant origin /approximately 9% of population/ constitute about 8% of intramural students.

The above situation does not mean that the aspirations of the children of the intelligentsia are lower than in Poland, but their surplus number is enrolled for extramural and evening courses where the proportion of clerks and intelligentsia children amounts to about 85% /122/.

In the USSR the control of the processes of social selection at the entrance to colleges and universities takes place by ensuring places to the graduates of preparatory courses and also by giving preferences to young people with a certain professional experience /154/.

In Czechoslovakia, as in Poland, a system of points is used in the course of enrollment. The secondary school marks and the results of the entrance examinations /maximum a hundred points for each/ are of the same importance. Besides that a candidate may get some extra points: 20 points for working-class or peasant origin, 10 points for candidates from underdeveloped areas and 10 points if a candidate commits himself to return to these areas after completing his studies.

It seems, however, that all these systems are imperfect, since

they are based on strictly administrative procedures and none of them can guarantee an equal start at colleges and universities, since in spite of them the stratificational and spatial limitations continue to exert their influence.

The scholarship system is another method of controlling social selection at higher schools; in this way the state corrects the student's difficult financial situation resulting from low family income. The regulations dealing with the distribution of scholarships operating until 1973 accepted as base the rate of income per family member; other elements, such as the student's record, his moral and social attitude were considered in case he failed his examinations.

The present system of scholarships takes into account, besides the permanent social sum, bonuses for at least good results in study. About 50% of students receive a regular financial help from the college or university in the form of scholarships. It should be mentioned for comparison that in the interwar period about 20% of students received scholarships, only 1/4 of which were full scholarships /166/. The maximum monthly scholarship in 1973 reached 1,210 zloty, and now together with the premium for very good achievement it amounts to 2,200 zł /in 1973 the average monthly nominal net pay per one person employed in state - controlled economy was 2,798 zł/. The investigations carried out at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń /1971/ show that in the students total budget the sums of money received from their parents make up 48.8%, the scholarship money 45.6% and the remaining 5.6% comes from their own earnings /15/. Nearly half of the students have incomes ranging from 801 to 1,200 zloty. The studies revealed that owing to scholarships the working-class and peasant youth from the lowest income families have jointly more money than other groups - 61% of the students inquired have more than 1,200 zloty per month. Three fourths of peasant and working-class

children are given scholarships. Considerably less scholarships are granted to children of craftsmen, clerks and intelligentsia: only 1/5 of them get scholarships. The ecological origin is also an important factor differentiating the students' budget. The smaller the place the students come from the better their chance of getting scholarships.

As the study of Toruń University students shows, it costs the parents an average of 804 złoty to keep a child studying away from home /15/. The studies carried out in the region of Opole /1967/ proved that an average family spent 1,031 zł per month only to cover the living costs /76/. The only more complete study of this problem carried out by the Central Office of Statistics in 1970 showed that this help amounted monthly /105/:

to 250 zł	34.0%
251-500 zł	19.5%
501-750 zł	25.9%
751-1,000 zł	20.6%

The information was obtained from 96,485 intramural students, i.e. 48.3% of the general population. It follows from the information that an average student gets 471 zł per month from his family; this sum not exceeding 250 zł among students receiving scholarships /70.4%. Although higher education is free, the necessity of covering some costs of maintenance of the student and his expenses connected with his studies burdens the family budget. With some groups of people this may lead to resignation from sending children to college or university, particularly in the case of poorer working-class and peasant families, because some families make specific balances of profitability of studies. Such a balance shows that higher education does not give enough financial reward for the family to suffer several years of hardship and sacrifice /76/.

The above problem is also dealt with by M. Kozakiewicz: "Education is the only dowry, which the parents of today give their children to secure their future. Our troubles with the selection of candidates for colleges and universities will not be solved as long as the investment in a higher level of the children's education will not be profitable, or, in other words will not promise good business in the parents' opinion. And the situation will last as long as the higher expenditure of their own money and their efforts /besides the costs and efforts taken up by the state/ will result in lower financial profit in comparison with the profit achieved through lower expenditure invested in lower vocational education. I do not mention here other "interest" such as moral satisfaction and prestige, which for the community at large is less important than economic reasons" /70, p. 63-64/.

The existing analyses of the costs per annum of the education of one student borne by the state show serious divergences. The existing system of book-keeping and reporting in higher schools does not reveal the cost of education. Its estimates carried out in separate calculations and analyses differ widely as a result of differences in the range of expenditure taken into account.

The official data of the Central Office of Statistics report that the cost of one student's education at university amounted to 21.9 thousand zł in 1965 /105/, while, according to the estimates of S. Andrzejczak, the cost /excluding the expenditure on research work and training of academic staff/ amounted to 19.6 thousand zł, and a year later she estimated the total cost of education /didactic work, financial help of the state for the students, research work, academic staff training and amortization deduction/ at 25.1 thousand zł /2; 3/. According to the latter study the cost of one student's education at Nicolaus Copernicus University in 1970 amounted to

29,7 thousand zł. If further expenditure of 8,043 zł spent by the family and 600 zł earned by the student are added, then the yearly cost of studies reaches the sum of 38.3 thousand zł. Thus, the contribution of the state in this case is 77.5%. The estimate of this contribution for the whole country given by M. Kosakiewicz is even lower, for it amounts to about 60-75% /70/.

Numerous investigations show that at the lower levels of education these proportions are in the ratio of 1 : 1/69, 108, 126, 171/. For the sake of comparison it is worth mentioning that the cost of educating a general secondary school pupil is 2.3 times higher, in vocational schools 3.6 times higher, and in the higher schools over 15 times higher than in the elementary school /according to data of 1968/.

One of the important factors determining the efficiency of studies are the living conditions of the students, here meant as a permanent place adapted for study forming the student's "workshop". The students' community is generally exposed to the same degree to the didactic and educational influence of the university, but the students have a different environment outside the university. Students whose families live in the same city where their university is located stay on at home; to those who live away from that place it is the students' hostel or a rented room that compensate for home. In the most difficult situation are students traveling to university, but they constitute a negligible proportion of the total number of students. Among university students nearly 40% live in hostels. The highest percentage among them is constituted by the working-class and peasant children. These students appreciate the living conditions provided by the hostel much more than the other students /especially of the intelligentsia/. This results from their previous experience and from the comparison of their present conditions with those they had at home,

since objectively all inhabitants of the hostel have identical conditions, they only differ in their capability for adaptation to life in a community.

x x
x

When analysing the processes going on in the higher school, i.e. in a microsystem, it is necessary to look at them as a certain succession, as the effect of the processes taking place in the macro-structure, in the whole school system, and produced "... by various social forces operating in the social classes and strata, in the state, in the local environment, in the families and schools, which raise barriers or, on the contrary, pave the way for individuals to higher education". /156, p. 37/.

Like in the former sections, we are going to base further analysis on several indexes, which have the character of syndromes of features, which in various studies are diagnostic for whole complexes of features of the student's social situation. Instead, therefore, of studying each feature separately, we are going to analyze the phenomenon from the point of view of the key feature /syndrome index/, with which all the others show a high degree of correlation. Such key features are: affiliation of the student's family to a given social class or group; the standard of education of his parents; the index of the cultural standard of his family; the size of the place where his family live; the place where he attended secondary school; indexes characterizing the quality of his ecologically conceived educational environment. These factors exert a more or less steady influence on the individual, while at the same time they themselves are subject to transformations, merging with the general development of the whole society and of the whole country.

The results of a number of investigations indicate that in

spite of a marked flattening of the structure of the Polish society children of the intelligentsia /university educated parents working in jobs requiring high qualifications/ are better prepared for university studies than the others, particularly the children of unskilled workers and peasants. This becomes apparent with particular clearness at the entrance examination. In 1969 the percentage of candidates screened out at all higher schools in the country was 43.4%, whereas among working-class children this percentage was 46.0 and among peasant children 46.2 /26/. Among graduates of general secondary schools who were not admitted to higher school on account of failing the entrance examination 34.3% were those whose fathers had only elementary education, and 26.6% were those whose fathers had higher education /46/. Quite important differences are observed in the achievement of the first year students: more students coming from the intelligentsia than from other stratificational groups are recognized as very well prepared for studies, and considerably less as poorly prepared /41; 155; 175; 177/. It must be taken into account, however, that the intelligentsia children to a large extent take extra preparatory courses and private lessons, which deforms their results compared with other candidates who do not have these advantages /110; 111/. The child of an intelligentsia family already at its birth is predestined for higher education, and the realization of these plans is a matter of prestige and of gaining by the child the position of his parents. In families where the parents are not university educated there is often no understanding for the need of creating the proper climate around studies /13/.

In the course of university studies no complete equalization of the standards of achievement of various groups of students takes place. We can only speak of equalization of chances of staying at university, and even of a greater efficiency in completing studies

on the part of students of working-class and peasant origin /37; 112; 185/.

/Here: Table 5/

The problem of standard of achievement in the course of studies is highly controversial. Part of the investigators claim that the highest performance is achieved by intelligentsia students /15; 101; 141; 153; 177/, others argue that among the good and very good students those of peasant origin constitute the highest percentage /50; 68; 112/. The differences between these standpoints become less acute if the higher school is not regarded as an independent institution, but as a component of the school system as a whole. It must be borne in mind that the process of equalisation of achievement standard at the highest level of the school scale is rather illusory, since it is brought about through intense differentiation of the dimensions of selection at earlier stages /the children of the intelligentsia have a several times greater chance of getting into a higher school than those of working-class or peasant origin/. In some types of higher education institutions /e.g. in institutes of technology/ children of working-class and peasant origin undergo such a strong anterior selection that they constitute only a small percentage of those entering the first year of studies and they have the best results in the course of their studies, whereas in the colleges where the anterior selection was less rigorous they constitute the majority of those accepted /academies of agriculture, teachers' training colleges/ and have poorer achievement.

A similarly strong influence is exerted by the environment of the secondary school. The students who attended school in small towns or villages are worse prepared for studies than those from large cities /15; 60/. But in the course of studies the chances of students, irrespe-

ctive of the size of the place where they finished school, become equalized, and even the highest percentage of students finishing their education according to schedule are from provincial schools though the quality of their achievement is remarkably lower compared with other groups /9; 5; 141/.

Also the students from rural and provincial environments who because of worse conditions had a poorer preparation for studies, equal or even surpass their friends living in big cities as regards efficiency of studies /4; 37; 148/. However, opinions are divided about the quality of their achievement. W. Wiśniewski found that students coming from villages and settlements show considerably higher average achievement than the remaining groups, but this result may be due to the high selecting of this group, because it constituted only 13.9% of all the students under study in three colleges. R. Borowicz studying the students of one university found differences in relative numbers of very good students throughout the course of studies distinctly to the disadvantage of those from villages and small towns /14/.

In practice there is a possibility of overlapping of the negative or positive effects of stratificational and ecological factors. The greatest probability occurs in the case of students of peasant origin. In the first place these students in an earlier period of life and study have less opportunity of personal development created by the family, who is not always prepared to fulfil its educational functions. Moreover the poor local environment provided by the village does not ensure suitable forms of cultural life and does not favor to such a degree the intellectual development of young people as does the environment of a large city. These disadvantages are enhanced when young people of peasant origin attend secondary school in a small town or village, where they also have no opportunity of coming into contact

with stronger intellectual or cultural centers. This is confirmed at the entrance examination, where these already sharply selected young people, with 3-4 times fewer poor secondary school certificates get nevertheless considerably worse marks. Students coming from families of unskilled workers and peasants, who are at the same time graduates of provincial secondary schools and come from villages, compared with the students from intellectual families who finished secondary school and lived in big cities get six times less very good marks and twice as many sufficient marks. The chances of passing from one term to the next and of completing studies according to schedule are reversed. The students coming from culturally underprivileged background failed in a proportion of 48.2% whereas those from privileged classes in 56.3% /15, p. 170/.

The reasons for such rapid equalization of chances of young people coming from educationally "lower" environment for finishing studies and even, as some investigations show, for better performance, may be explained by:

- more rigorous selection at lower levels of education;
- the wish to get out of one's environment /education means chance of social advancement;
- psychological conditionings /greater discipline, greater diligence etc./;
- stronger motivation for studying /among other things the apprehension of coming back to former environment/.

Generally, however, it may be said that at the higher school level it is too late to liquidate the consequences of unequal start /economic, cultural and social conditions in which the given individual grows up/. It seems that the means of didactic and nondidactic compensation should be more widely applied in primary and secondary schools /more financial help, places in boarding-schools/. This pro-

blem may be solved only by ensuring uniform preparation of the whole young generation regardless of the conditions provided by the family, school or local environment in earlier life.

The differentiation of opportunities of acquiring higher education by the young generation from different stratificational and spatial backgrounds, which still exists, cannot obscure the process of remarkable social mobility taking place between the generations. Considerable vertical mobility, especially the upward mobility, is possible due to controlled school selections. All the educational reforms are subordinated to this purpose, because the egalitarian school system is now the basic determinant of the democratic character of society. Many central decisions serve this purpose as for instance: promoting all schoolchildren from grade I to IV in elementary school as a factor of control of intraschool selections; the abolition of entrance examinations to post-elementary schools and directing the children to various kinds of schools according to their abilities and interests; instructions recommending to increase the number of boys admitted to general secondary schools.

Almost all the attempts at controlling school selections in nonegalitarian economic and socio-spatial conditions clash with the processes of spontaneous selection which aim at the consolidation of currently existing social differentiations. Thus the attempts at controlling selections consisting in stimulating the level of school aspirations in worker and peasant classes and at toning down the excessive aspirations among the white-collar workers and the intelligentsia, where the drift towards higher education is very strong regardless of the acquired results and motivations, do not bring the expected results. The strength of these spontaneous processes is manifested in the fact that it proved impossible to increase the

number of boys admitted to general secondary schools to the planned level of 40%; it is difficult also to increase the percentage of young people of working-class and peasant origin in schools of that type. It does not mean, however, that further intensified actions of this type will not be undertaken.

The presented analysis and the following conclusions confirm the regularity found earlier by historians of education and students of the relationship between the school system and the society that the school reflects the existing social differentiations. But a simultaneous goal of the socialist school is to transform the social structure towards a more egalitarian one, to accelerate social and economic development, to equalize social opportunities by providing equivalent education for all. An urgent social need is the development of the compensatory and protective function of school in relation to students living in disadvantageous conditions and in relation to culturally backward and neglected environments.

Polish investigation and experiments authorize the statement that the reforms of the educational system will be effective if and only if they are associated with reforms in the whole of the social, economic and welfare policy. Since the differentiation of uniform schools and inside them is the function of non-egalitarian social conditions, the preventive action and therapy with regard to the disproportions of educational effects /depending on the social and local environment of the school and the pupil/ must be of social character. These problems cannot be solved by mere intraschool reforms. The effectiveness of this prophylaxis and therapy may be ensured only when the reforms of the structure, organization, teaching staff and teaching methods in the school system are linked with the reforms in the entirety of purposeful social changes,

especially in relation to the country and other environments still handicapping the school and social start of their children.

Two functions of the elementary educational system with opposing social effects /the function of reflecting the existing differentiations and the function of cotransforming the social structure towards a more egalitarian one/, do not form a combination of forces neutralising each other and do not put us under obligation to choose only one of the possibilities. In socialism the social structure as a whole changes dynamically. The democratic character of the school system is one of the constitutional components of this social structure and one of the instruments of stimulating the transformation of social macrostructures. There is therefore no need to choose between the two lines: adaptation to the existing structures and differentiations or undertaking attempts at "social rescue" at school and in its environment. The socialist school should serve the transformation of society, and the feasibility of this task depends on the directions and the rate of transformations around it.

However, in order that the school may play the role of equalizer of social opportunities it must have sufficiently strong compensatory mechanisms introduced into it. They must also be built in and developed both in the system of extra-scholar education and in the policy and practice of creating for individuals and the environment opportunities of benefiting from cultural values through supralocal institutions of transfer and universalization.

Without this necessary development of compensatory function of the educational system, without creating for the school and the institutions of extrascholar education the possibility of effective work on the equalisation of cultural differences and opportunities, the school and the system of education would be an inhibitory agent

at the present stage of development of the socialist society.

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X

While considering the problem of effectiveness of higher schools - no matter how it is conceived - one should see it as a coupled system: candidate for college - student - graduate. In Polish research concerning school selections at the higher school level the best penetrated is the threshold between the full secondary school and higher education, the period of adaptation in college /87; 101; 173; 177/ and the problem of preparation and usefulness of higher school graduates^{for} professional work /8; 22; 39; 152; 188/. These investigations aim at working out the optimal methods of selection by choosing for higher schools the candidates with the necessary personality traits and abilities needed for studying in the chosen faculty. So far the investigations have not resulted in the establishment of a full list of these traits for the particular types of schools and specialties or in working out the techniques of their recognition. Another difficulty is related with the problem to what extent a good candidate for higher studies will prove a good graduate - specialist. The experiences collected so far do not show simple relationships in this respect. Even very good achievement in college and a good mastering of the body of information within the domain of a given specialty do not guarantee success in later career. This would indicate among other things that the requirements at higher school are different from those of social practice /8; 39; 95; 152; 188/. It is doubtful whether at the stage of selection it may be predicted with any accuracy whether a candidate for studies represents definite abilities required in a given specialty or job.

The analysis we have presented hitherto dealt with the pedago-

gical effectiveness of school. We were interested not only in how much knowledge the pupil has acquired, but also in how deeply he understands it, to what extent he has developed his thinking, criticism and self-dependence. The intraschool effectiveness conceived in this way concerns the obtainment of a possibly large number of graduates /the problem of quantity/, who acquired a certain stock of knowledge and skills /the problem of quality/. In the first of these formulations the index of pedagogical effectiveness of schooling is the percentage of young people finishing their studies in relation to those beginning the course /we distinguish here "the punctuality of studies" - i.e. the number of students finishing higher schools according to schedule; "total efficiency" - or the percentage of students from a given enrollment cohort finishing the studies at all; "the duration of studies" - or the number of years spent at higher school by the average student up to the moment of getting a diploma/. A generally accessible index of the quality of students' achievement are their effects expressed in the form of school marks /often criticized/, which constitute the factors evaluating /differentiating/ the students and deciding about their further school careers /it occurs in the case of unsatisfactory marks/.

/Here: Table 6/

In higher schools the lowest indexes of "the punctuality of studies" are noted at the first years, where less than 80% of the beginners attending full time course pass on to the next year; at extramural studies about 70% pass to the next year, and at evening courses - about 60%. At the fifth year these indexes oscillate about 95%. At full-time courses the lowest total efficiency of studies is reached by technical and economic colleges, where the percentage of students who finished studies at all among those who entered

university in 1955-60 did not exceed 60% and in the following years - 65%. For universities in 1959-63 it ranged from 65 to 67% /186/. The group of faculties achieving the highest total efficiency includes biology, chemistry, history and geography, whereas the lowest indexes are found in physics, mathematics and law. Many investigations show that the duration of studies is on the average prolonged for one semester in relation to schedule /15; 133; 180/. The basic index indicating the quantitative efficiency of higher studies is the punctuality of finishing studies. The higher the index the lower the percentage of students finishing studies later than planned and the shorter the real time of their duration.

Most marks obtained at higher schools are satisfactory or good. Very good results are achieved at the first year by 3.5% of university students, whereas at the last year by as many as 25% /15/. It is also worth noting that the level of university success measured by marks shows a fairly high degree of stability: with very good, good and weak students there is a characteristically narrow range of marks at the particular years of studies, usually not exceeding one grade. Almost exclusively weak students are subject to failure /4/. The rather high rates of repeaters, dropouts, and screenouts involve besides social losses considerable economic expenses. The sum necessary to educate one graduate of a full-time university course in the educational cycle 1965/66 to 1969/70 was about 126 thousand z1, while delays and interruptions caused a further increase of 13 thousand z1 /3/.

Appreciating the importance of effects obtained during studies one should remember that the main purpose of schooling is not "to prepare the student in the best possible way for the examination requirements of individual professors but to adapt him as well as possible for future tasks in his professional career" /38; p. 5-6/.

This kind of effects of higher school work may be defined as functional effectiveness concerning the functioning of the educational effects. The effects of higher education are estimated here only in a certain time perspective, both in the economic and socio-cultural field; they are studied in a general social aspect /in estimating the influence of education on the processes conditioning the progress of economic, social and cultural life/, as well as in the individual aspect /in defining the personal advantages of education/.

The many-sided connections of higher education with different domains of life of individuals and the whole society cause that studies on the effectiveness of that education have an interdisciplinary character and are conducted by economists, sociologists, psychologists and politologists.

Investigations conducted in Poland on the microeconomic effectiveness of higher education have shown a close correlation between education and the labor productivity, quality of work, rationalizing and inventive activity, organizational and technical progress /85; 73; 56; 93; 169/.

In the domain of individual effectiveness of higher education there occurs a fairly remarkable difference between socialist and capitalist countries. In the latter the expenses of the individual in order to obtain higher education are treated as costs, which should result in an adequately higher income. The greater the range of earnings depending on the differences in the standard of education, the stronger is the impact of higher income motivation in taking up studies. Thus in the USA the statistical data confirm the occurrence of an explicit dependence of the income level upon the level of acquired education; at the same time the most rapid increase in income is noted in the group of persons with higher education /163, p. 142-144/.

In Poland and other socialist countries there is no closer interdependence between the level of wages and salaries and the level of acquired education; the possibility of getting relatively high earnings after finishing some vocational schools undoubtedly weakens the aspirations to higher studies among young people of working-class and peasant origin.

In setting the pay level not only the standard of education of the employee is taken into account, but also the importance of the given branch for national economy, the working conditions and other factors. For example in the productive sections of Polish economy the average level of education among the employees is lower than in the non-productive sections, whereas the average earnings are higher /10; 72; 99; 130/. In socialist economy the majority of expenses on education is borne by the whole society, because all the stages of the educational system are free, hence society as a whole gains considerable economic benefits from education. However, in the current process of improvement of the pay system the attention is more often drawn to the necessity of closer dependence of the pay level upon the level of education /134, p. 48, 10/.

The macroeconomic effectiveness of higher education is considered mainly in the plane of economic growth because higher education plays an essential role among the factors of national income growth. With these problems is related the democratization of access to higher education, which, while aiming at equalization of opportunities in this domain ensures the best possible utilization of potential abilities and talents of young people. In this way an increase in the quantitative and qualitative "output" of the higher education system takes place in the form of inflow of highly qualified staff into different sectors and branches of national economy.

In every economic growth model the dynamics of national income depends in the first place on the size of applied production factors. The role of the labor input depends not only on the amount of effective working hours, but also on the quality of work, which is of vital importance for the level and dynamics of labor productivity. The main determinants of the quality of labor are the qualifications of the employees whose most essential component is education.

The concept of qualifications *sensu largo* covers not only the education and professional skills of employees, but also their general moral and cultural standard, their attitude to work. If the acquired knowledge is not associated with discipline, sense of responsibility and the like, then education loses its practical significance and does not affect individual and social labor productivity /44/. In practice, however, education acquired in different types of schools together with professional experience is applied as a measure of qualifications.

Between higher education, qualifications and economic development there are many-sided interrelations. They are not one-way dependences; there are feedbacks, difficult or impossible to express in quantitative terms. Nevertheless both in Western and socialist countries attempts have been made to quantify the effect of qualification on the growth of national income. In the USSR in the twenties S. Strumilin was first to undertake studies in this field /143/ and by his method the contribution of education to the volume of national income in 1958-1968 has been recently estimated also in Poland. According to the estimates of Z. Madej this contribution amounted in 1958 to 6.4% and in 1968 - to 16.0% /91, p. 272/. As for the growth rate of Poland's national income in 1958-1968, the estimations by E. F. Denison's method show that of the 7.6% average yearly growth rate 0.56 percentage point i.e. 7.36% of this growth rate falls to

education /91, p. 274/. If K. Porwit /127/ formula for separating production growth factors is applied to the same period, the result will indicate that the share of education increment in the increment of national income amounted to 14%.

Each of these methods is based on different and rather arbitrary assumptions. Hence they yield widely varying results of limited value and are subject to a great deal of criticism /36; 55; 103; 106; 107/. However right this criticism may be, it does not shake the validity of the general thesis that economic progress and socio-economic development depend largely on the quality of the human factor which in turn depends on the qualifications acquired as a result of education. This thesis has been confirmed by studies on the correlation between the level of economic development and the extent of universalization of secondary and higher education in eight socialist countries /19/.

The economic effectiveness of investment in higher education and the influence of the latter on economic development may be considerably weakened if the higher school graduates do not find jobs in their proper fields. The greatest economic waste of outlays for higher education takes place when people with university education are unemployed as a result of lowlevel activity of the national economy /24, p. 322 and fol.; 164/. This problem does not appear in Poland and other socialist countries where thanks to planned economy the phenomena of economic stagnation and depressions have been eliminated and the policy of full employment is successfully realized.

During the past thirty years Poland's higher schools have given the country over 700 thousand graduates who represent a tremendous capital of workers' qualifications. In relation to the total number of population this puts Poland among countries with a high index of saturation of the working population with college or university educated specialists /23/.

The policy of full employment does not, however, automatically guarantee an adequate, optimal allocation of the labor force and among it also of the highly qualified workers. Already in 1966 at a conference devoted to the problems of employment of higher school graduates the faulty functioning of the allocating system of these graduates was exposed /129/. For instance the engineers are not properly utilized in production, since too large a proportion of them are employed in administration and management.

The effectiveness of higher education and its effect on the socio-economic development are weakened by the still unsatisfactory effectiveness of studies in the sense of inappropriate choice of the field of studies and insufficient preparation for concrete jobs as well as incomplete utilization of the graduates' skills and knowledge. In spite of the system of planned employment of higher school graduates, including in particular those of technical colleges and the faculties of science at universities, many graduates work in professions and jobs which have nothing to do with their field of studies and specialization and in posts which do not require higher education /20; 21; 40; 88; 151/.

The transition of the Polish economy from an extensive to an intensive economic development is closely linked with changes in the policy of managing the human factor and is reflected in the recently issued instruction advising to combine the principle of full employment with that of rational employment. This means not only full utilization and adequate allocation of labor resources but also employing people in accordance with their qualifications, competence, and their aspirations /48, p. 41-44/.

In the economic policy of the Polish People's Republic economic growth is not regarded as an aim in itself. but as the material base

for rising the living standard, i.e. of both the people's material welfare and their cultural and intellectual standards. For that reason the term "economic growth" is replaced more and more frequently by the expression "socio-economic development" /118; 119; 138; 147/ which emphasizes the integrality of social and economic processes.

In this context higher education is considered not only in categories of economy and production; an important role is ascribed to the significance of higher education for the general culture of the nation, for the proper and harmonious development of all the domains of social life and for the satisfaction of the individual human aspirations.

A comprehensive qualitative development of the human personality is recognized by the socialist doctrine as a particularly important function of education. In the process of education man not only acquires the knowledge and skills necessary in his professional work, but , also develops his personality, enriches his esthetic and moral ideas, widens and deepens his perception of the world and his intellectual and cultural horizons.

On account of its socio-cultural function higher education should be made accessible to a constantly growing number of people. Whether this will be achieved depends on the level of economic development and prosperity. There are strong interrelations between economic and social progress. The higher the level of economic development and prosperity the greater will be the importance of the socio-cultural aspect of higher education.

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T A B L E 1

Indicators of quantitative development of higher
schools in Poland

Academic year	Number of higher schools	Number of students /thousands/	Number of graduates /thousands/
1922/23	17	38.0	2.2
1925/26	18	37.5	3.4
1931/32	22	49.8	5.2
1937/38	32	49.5	6.1
1945/46	46	56.0	3.9
1950/51	83	125.1	21.7
1955/56	78	157.5	26.5
1960/61	75	163.7	20.5
1965/66	76	251.9	25.2
1970/71	85	330.8	46.8
1973/74	89	397.7	62.9
1985	x	440	100
1990	x	490	127
1995	x	590	148
2000	x	740	191

S o u r c e : Mały Rocznik Statystyczny, Warszawa 1938, GUS,
p. 307; Roczniki Statystyczne Szkolnictwa;
Raport o stanie oświaty w PRL, Warszawa 1973,
PWN, p. 435.

T A B L E 2

Candidates and students enrolled at full-course studies
in 1951-1970 of workmen's and peasant origin /in percentages/

Academic year	Origin of candidates		Enrolled students	
	workpeople	peasants	workpeople	peasants
1951/52	31.7	22.2	39.1	24.9
1952/53	32.8	23.8	35.9	25.1
1953/54	31.5	24.9	33.9	25.4
1954/55	32.0	24.4	34.6	24.9
1955/56	32.5	25.0	32.2	24.0
1956/57	34.3	25.1	30.7	22.0
1957/58	26.2	21.6	25.0	21.1
1958/59	27.3	21.0	27.8	21.3
1959/60	26.9	20.1	28.2	20.1
1960/61	26.4	19.0	27.0	19.3
1961/62	27.2	17.7	27.6	18.3
1962/63	27.8	16.8	27.9	17.0
1963/64	28.5	17.1	28.0	17.1
1964/65	29.9	15.7	28.4	15.2
1965/66	29.0	15.0	27.9	14.9
1966/67	27.9	14.9	27.1	15.2
1967/68	26.8	14.5	26.0	15.0
1968/69	29.5	14.8	33.6	16.9
1969/70	29.4	14.4	33.1	15.9
1970/71	33.3	14.5	34.3	15.1

S o u r c e : Z. Wańkowicz, Skuteczność stosowania preferencji
za pochodzenie społeczne /w:/ Rekrutacja młodzieży
na studia wyższe, Warszawa 1973, PWN, p. 177.

TABLE 3

Structure of students in Poland

Social origin	Full courses		Evening courses		Extramural courses	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	1 9 6 0 / 6 1					
Workpeople	27,361	24.6	6,164	50.9	10,707	39.9
Peasants	20,798	18.7	2,313	19.1	7,939	29.6
Mental workers	49,889	44.8	2,687	22.2	5,938	22.1
Others	4,824	5.2	150	1.2	961	3.6
Total	111,342 ^x	100.0	12,111 ^{xx}	100.0	26,811 ^{xxx}	100.0
	1 9 6 5 / 6 6					
Workpeople	41,462	27.2	15,909	56.2	27,337	47.0
Peasants	25,943	17.0	5,915	20.9	17,981	30.9
Mental workers	76,738	50.4	6,178	21.8	11,765	20.2
Others	8,219	5.4	313	1.1	1,119	1.9
Total	152,362	100.0	28,315	100.0	58,202	100.0
	1 9 6 7 / 6 8					
Workpeople	47,653	26.7	18,233	56.0	31,821	46.9
Peasants	28,773	16.2	6,305	19.4	21,152	31.2
Mental workers	92,649	52.0	7,474	23.0	13,525	19.9
Others	9,070	5.1	511	1.6	1,090	2.0
Total	178,145	100.0	32,523	100.0	67,839	100.0
	1 9 7 3 / 7 4					
Workpeople	72,215	30.1	21,562	58.6	50,896	45.3
Peasants	33,304	13.9	5,362	14.6	34,334	30.6
Mental workers	125,528	52.3	9,560	26.0	24,985	22.3
Others	8,919	3.7	305	0.8	2,009	1.8
Total	239,966	100.0	36,789	100.0	112,224	100.0

^x 8,470 students not taken into account in the division according to social origin.

^{xx} 797 students not taken into account in the division according to social origin.

^{xxx} 1,266 students not taken into account in the division according to social origin.

S o u r c e: Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1967/68, p. 388, 398, Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1973/74, p. 212. 408.

T A B L E 4

Indexes of accessibility of higher education to youth of the
basic social strata

Academic year	Social origin of first-year students				
	workpeople	peasants	intelli- gentsia	craftsmen	others
1960/61	0.70	0.53	2.69	1.56	0.18 ^x
1965/66	0.71	0.49	2.60	1.16	0.14
1966/67	0.68	0.51	2.62	1.25	0.13
1967/68	0.66	0.51	2.64	1.25	0.14
1968/69	0.82	0.58	2.27	0.35 ^{xx}	-
1969/70	0.82	0.55	2.30	0.36	-
1971/72	0.73	0.55	2.45	0.34	-
1972/73	0.72	0.49	1.73 ^{xxx}	-	-

^x This category includes mainly annuitants and pensioners who have comparatively few children of university age, hence the index is so low for this group.

^{xx} Jointly with the category "others".

^{xxx} Jointly with the categories "craftsmen" and "others".

S o u r c e : J. Osiniński, J. Zalewski, Niektóre problemy systemu kwalifikowania na studia, "Życie Szkoły Wyższej", no 7-8/1975, p. 138.

TABLE 5

Punctuality of completion of full-course studies by students
of various social strata

Social origin	Enrollment age-groups						
	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Total	52.1	53.0	61.4	63.4	64.2	65.7	68.4
Workpeople	52.4	53.4	68.8	65.4	63.5	67.5	69.2
Peasants	55.6	65.7	73.7	69.7	67.9	72.9	81.0
Mental workers	52.2	50.8	55.7	63.0	65.0	64.5	65.6
Others	36.4	30.8	43.2	42.6	49.7	47.2	55.2

S o u r c e : M. Zubrzycki, Statystyczna analiza sprawności kształ-
cenia w szkolnictwie wyższym / dane ogólnokrajowe/
/w:/ Sprawność kształcenia w szkolnictwie wyższym,
red. T. Przeciszewski, Warszawa 1971, PWN, p. 87.

T A B L E 6

Annual efficiency of schooling at the particular years
of full-course studies in the academic year 1972/73

Year of studies	Type of school	Number of students	P e r c e n t a g e s		
			Completed the course	Directed for re- petition	Elimi- nated
I	Universities	18,166	79.3	4.9	15.8
	Technical univers.	15,490	76.0	7.8	16.2
	Agricult. academies	6,162	76.9	6.5	16.6
	Medical academies	5,368	85.1	3.9	11.0
II	Universities	14,349	84.3	9.6	6.1
	Technical univers.	14,140	78.2	14.9	6.9
	Agricult. academ.	5,115	86.5	8.6	4.9
	Medical academies	4,669	84.6	10.7	4.7
III	Universities	10,596	88.3	7.5	4.2
	Technical univers.	11,168	83.4	12.1	4.5
	Agricult. academ.	3,950	92.7	6.3	2.0
	Medical academies	3,502	92.5	6.3	1.2
IV	Universities	10,380	94.4	4.2	1.4
	Technical univers.	11,911	89.5	8.0	2.5
	Agricult. academ.	4,532	96.0	2.9	1.1
	Medical academies	3,788	95.3	3.7	1.0
V	Universities	6,736	97.6	1.8	0.6
	Technical univers.	9,914	91.9	6.1	2.0
	Agricult. academ.	3,065	97.4	2.2	0.4
	Medical academies	3,718	96.4	2.8	0.8
VI	Universities	8	87.5	12.5	-
	Technical univers.	4,607	94.8	2.6	2.6
	Agricult. academ.	385	93.5	1.0	5.5
	Medical academies	2,371	98.6	1.2	0.2

S o u r c e : Rocznik Statystyczny Szkolnictwa 1973/74, Warszawa
1974, p. 207-210.

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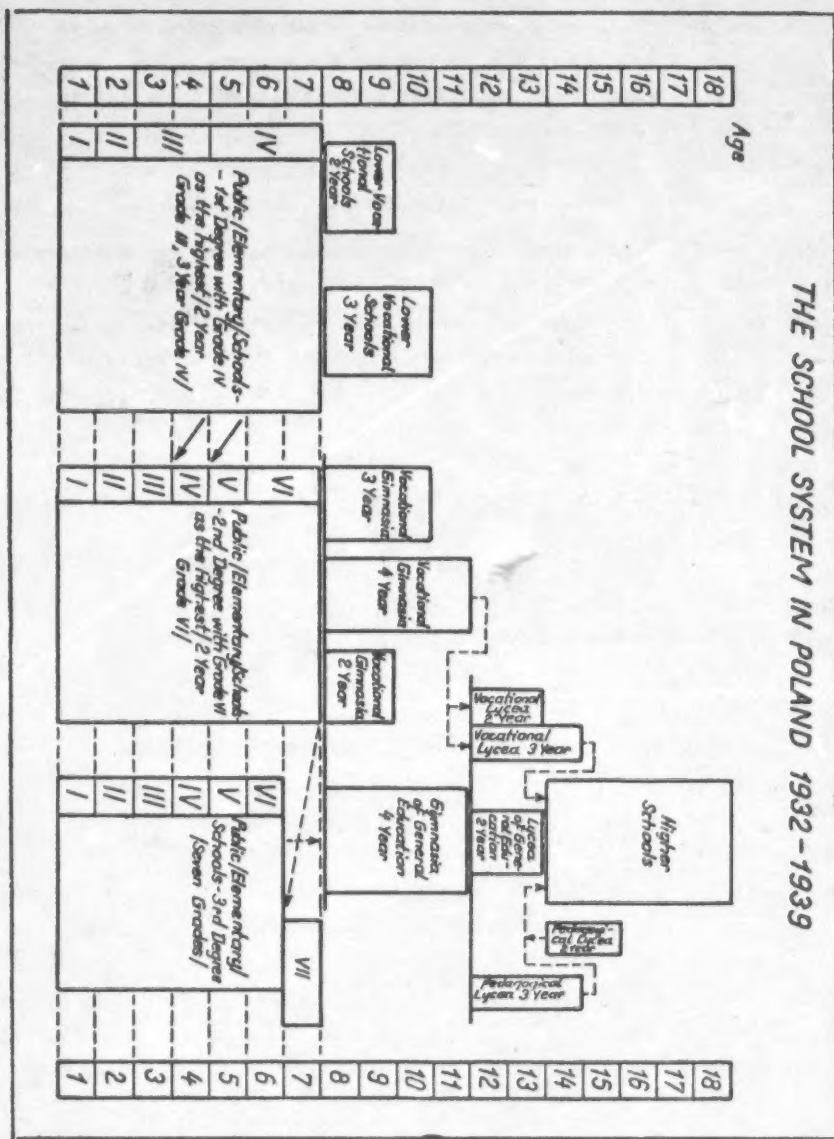
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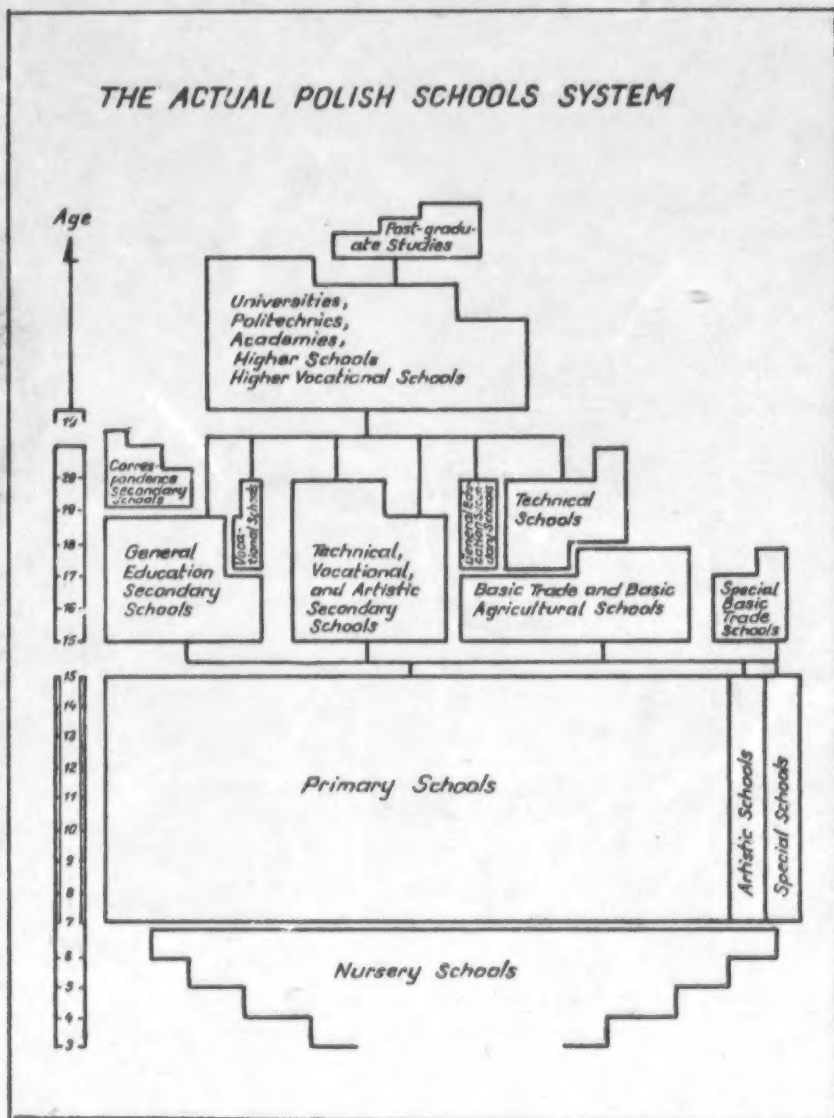
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THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN POLAND 1932-1939





PROJECTED FUTURE MODEL OF THE POLISH SCHOOL SYSTEM WITH A TEN-GRADE UNIVERSAL SECONDARY SCHOOL

